



MOSTAR BETWEEN 1941 AND 1952 - WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT FROM 1945 TO 1952

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Abstract:

This publication addresses two separate periods in the history of Mostar. In the first part, it brings information about Mostar during World War II. The second part describes a period of reconstruction and development based on primary archival documents in an effort to throw light on socio-economic trends in Mostar area shortly after war, as well as the first part of the first five-year plan of reconstruction.

Keywords: World War II, war devastations, refugees, reconstruction, development, The first Five Year plan, agricultural economy, industry, trades, Mostar, Herzegovina

Prefatory notes

After the Axis invasion on Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH – Nezavisna Država Hrvatska) Mostar fell under Italian occupation in NDH area. Mostar was the headquarters of several Ustasha, Italian, and German divisions, as well as Home Guard regiments, but there was also the Mostar Partisan battalion formed of patriots who were defending Mostar. In the Mostar area many crimes were committed by the foreign aggressor as well as by Ustasha and Chetnik quislings, who brought to a close what Germans and Italians hadn't completed. February 14 is celebrated as the day of liberation of Mostar in World War II. On that day Partisans broke through and took over Mostar, they expelled the remains of the aggressor's army. Many lives were lost for the freedom of Mostar in World War II, many Partisans and civilians were killed. In this war, Mostar gave many national heroes (Dr Safet Mujić, Mladen Bevanda, Mustafa Ćemalović, Šefik Obad and many others) who fought not only for Mostar, but for the whole homeland. After World War II and

sustained ravages of the war, Mostar had to be built and developed once more. Reconstruction starts in the upcoming period of the First Five Year Plan from 1947 to 1952 and afterwards.

Overviews of the war events in Mostar from 1941 to 1945

After the German invasion of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in April 1941 and its capitulation, Yugoslavia fell apart. Shortly after that, its army signs capitulation. Bosnia and Herzegovina was soon occupied and divided into two occupying zones. First units of the 14th German Armored Division broke through from Sarajevo and Bugojno to Mostar in April 1941 followed by the parts of Italian Motorized Corps from Sinj and Imotski.

Italian occupying forces surrendered Mostar and entire Bosnia and Herzegovina to the newly established NDH which was established in Zagreb, on April 10, 1941, with approval of the German Army. Although they formally turned over all control to newly formed NDH, Italian forces were still deployed in Mostar. They didn't leave Mostar until September, 1943.

The surrendering happened after concluding Roman Agreementⁱ and civilian authority of Italian occupying administration was abolished, and the forming of the NDH civilian authorities was approved. After they had divided the country into districts, the Ustashe established civilian organs of government and Mostar became centre of big Hum district. Some of the districts were even out of borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The motive behind why the Ustasha did this was because they wanted to disunite Bosnia and Herzegovina, and on the other hand, to separate Muslims from their nationality and to declare Muslims as Croats, and call them "flowers of the Croatian people", as Ustasha used to appease Muslims to win them over to their side. After the occupation fascists terror starts: detentions, seizing, internments, hangings and incineration of villages.

The situation in the city was chaotic. The absolute terror of the Ustasha prevailed the town. By day and night, people were drawn away from their work places, from streets and even from bed. Some of the arrested were soon executed in a brutal way. Internments and wipeout of residents of Mostar "were executed on several separate occasions".ⁱⁱ The first occasion was during a period from June 25 to June 28, 1941. Some of the detainees were often released and shortly after, they were arrested again. "In East

ⁱ In Roman Agreement, the NDH border was delineated as eastern border of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and by that Italy recognized Bosnia and Herzegovina as a part of the NDH.

ⁱⁱ Drago Miletić, *Stradanja u Mostaru*, Hercegovina u Narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi 2, Beograd, 1986, 119.

Herzegovina, mass Ustasha slaughter, thefts and incendiarism rose up Orthodox residents in arms on June 3, 1941, in order to defend their own lives as well as villages.”ⁱⁱⁱ The third occasion of internments, which happened in the second half of June, was stopped due to the above mentioned uprising of the Orthodox people. Aside those small onslaughts the Ustashe used to deliver bigger attacks. Namely, besides individual murders they executed mass murders and internments to Nedić's quisling Serbia. “The last notice for emigration was proclaimed on August 17, 1941, and it included surnames beginning with letter K to those beginning with letter NJ.”^{iv} On account of "work" in Banjaluka area Mostar Battalion^v was pulled out of Mostar.

With the departure of this battalion, in November 1941, Mostar area reprived from Ustasha crime. However, after capitulation of Italy in 1943, German troops took control over Mostar, which made Mostar the headquarters of the 1035th German Military Command, and a month later, of the 5th SS Army Corps. This pattern of relations provides opportunity for the Ustasha to carry on the crimes that they had started in 1941. Mostar was of a great importance for the German wartime economy, because it was rich in scarce bauxite, which was essential to German economy. They kept the exploitation of the Mostar mine to themselves while Mostar was still in Italian occupying zone. After carrying out coups which were performed by Chetniks in Partisan units in Herzegovina, not concealing any more, they started to cooperate publicly with Italian occupying units. This collaboration might best be perceived in Mostar where armed Chetniks, at first secretly and later openly, were walking along Mostar streets “accompanied with Italian officers”.^{vi} Chetniks used the Italian forces patronage and protection to execute indiscriminate violence and burning down of innocent Bosniak and Croat population. Many villages^{vii} in Mostar area were to become execution sites of civilians. In those assaults, Chetniks were cooperating with their Italian allies. The following war years weren't going Chetniks' way even though they were in great number. In the city and its surroundings, there were several thousands of Chetniks and a great number of them were killed while fighting Partisans. There were also many funerals for Chetniks who gave their life "for King and homeland". The approach of the National Liberation Yugoslav Armed Forces (Narodnooslobodilačka vojska Jugoslavije - NOVJ) scared Italian occupiers, so they brought Montenegro

ⁱⁱⁱEnver Ćemalović, *Mostarski bataljon*, Mostar, 1986, 15.

^{iv}Drago Miletić, *Stradanja u Mostaru*, 118.

^vMeanwhile Mostar battalion was renamed into Herzegovina Battalion, and afterwards into Herenčić's Battalion by major Herenčić.

^{vi}Drago Miletić, *Italijanska reokupacija Mostara (septembar 1941-juni 1943)*, Hercegovina – Časopis za kulturno i istorijsko nasljeđe, Mostar, 1990, 7-8.

^{vii}Drežnica, Goranci, Bogodol, Doljani etc.

Chetniks to help their "Hercegovinian brothers". However, bringing up the reinforcement hadn't obtained the results. This is proven by the fact that one of the Chetnik commanding officers, Dobroslav Đorđević, was disappointed with the bearing upon the battle. He observes that for the third time they have brought dishonor upon the glory of Chetnik Army and Serbian name. The breakdown of Chetniks happened at the beginning of 1943, when Weiss German operation collapsed and which was supposed to destroy NOVJ. On that occasion, Chetnik divisions were slaughtered on Prenj Mountain. They haven't rebounded from that defeat until the end of the war and on the ground of Bosnia and Herzegovina; they were accounted for the minor force. Their final blow was Italian's capitulation on June 4 1943, which ended Italian protective attitude towards Chetniks. During preparing the uprising in spring and summer 1941 two conferences of [Communist Party of Yugoslavia](#) (Komunistička partija Jugoslavije – KPJ) were held. The conference of Young Communist League of Yugoslavia (*Savez komunističke omladine Jugoslavije* – SKOJ) was also held, arms and medical supplies were gathered and the organization of KPJ and SKOJ had been enlarged. Among other things, 300 guns were collected, so each soldier from Mostar who joined Partisan troops in 1941 was armed.

The Social Revolution Committee formed and trained few assault units all over neighborhoods of Mostar. The District headquarters for Herzegovina was formed on the assembly of district committee of KPJ which was held on July 16 1941 in Mostar. In fighting with Ustasha, a unit of about 18 soldiers, along with its command was wrecked in Podveležje, near Mostar. In the outcome of the miscarriage of this action, there were few more failures. One of the consequences of this failure was communication breakdown with insurgents in East Herzegovina, and another one was lack of uniformity in progress of the uprising in Herzegovina. In the end of July 1941, members of the Communist Party fought against Ustasha who were conducting arrests in the city. Namely, on that day there was an assembly of the District Committee of the Communist Party in the house of Gojko Vuković. While the Communists were discussing current events Gojko Vuković's wife, Zlatka Vuković,^{viii} was on guard. "As soon as Ustasha showed up she warned the comrades".^{ix} On that occasion, there was a crossfire and one of the Ustasha, Mirko Bebek, had been killed. His death incited Ustashe to kill a group of Orthodox civilians on Carina Bridge. The failure in Podveležje hadn't discouraged insurgents in Mostar. In the second half of August, a unit of about 30 soldiers breaks through insurgent grounds in East Herzegovina. This "test project" hadn't been stopped until the final liberation of Mostar. In those intervals, armed units

^{viii}The textile factory in Opine, near Mostar, was named after her.

^{ix}D. Miletić, *Stradanja u Mostaru*, 114.

of 10 to 15 soldiers broke through. They were recruited into Herzegovina troops and divisions, mainly the Mostar Battalion which was formed in September 1941. One of great efforts by this battalion happened in June when Mostar Youth Battalion was sent to reinforcements of the 10th Herzegovina NOU Division on Sutjeska. This battalion inadequately armed and with lack in fighting experience was destroyed in conflict with parts of 7th SS Volunteer Mountain Division *Prinz Eugen*. During the occupation, in spite of arrests and torturing of patriots, raids, internments and murders, Mostar represented a strong illegal post of People's Liberation Movement (Narodnooslobodilački pokret - NOP). Illegal assemblies were continually held in the town, it was taken care of messengers, volunteers in NOP forces, and wounded and ill soldiers as well.^x The town had a printing shop and a warehouse where they kept supplies and ammunition. About developed network of "illegal activities" on the ground of Mostar, tells the fact that after the Battle of Sutjeska Mostar Battalion had been hidden in the town so they could have recovered and then they were sent to the battle again. It needs to be noted that in this period of irrationality some individuals who have put their own lives on risk to help innocent people, distinguished themselves. I'll point out two of them Mehmed Čehaić^{xi} and father Alojzije Mišić.^{xii}

In general, political chaos, which at the time was taking place in the town, the Muslim Resolution was approved. In this resolution, they indicate clearly that Mostar residents and its ulema weren't supporting the occupier's policy. Similar resolutions were introduced all over Bosnia and Herzegovina. In May 1942, the arrests of Party members were executed. However, those arrests failed to mark, because the Party organization consolidated relatively fast. But the wave of violence continued with unreduced rage. The arrested were tortured tremendously by District police officers (police officers of NDH). Some of them didn't reach the prison, because they had been killed on their way there, which was excused by alleged escape of prisoners. This was the case with Salko Šestić in 1943, who was killed by Ustasha police officer, Mujo Trbonja, who excused his crime by alleged attempt of escape of the prisoner. Due to the upsurge of the uprising in Herzegovina, which was disadvantageous for Ustasha, "Mousolini and Pavelić entered in an agreement on reoccupation of Zone II, which included Mostar as well".^{xiii} With this reoccupation the wave of Ustasha violence

^xWhen there were no conditions for their medical treatment on a free territory.

^{xi}Mehmed Čehaić, born in Bosanska Dubica, he worked as a policeman in a department for document issues. He helped Orthodox residents to run to Serbia. He was arrested, sent to a prisoners' camp and killed.

^{xii}Father Alojzije Mišić didn't want to absolve the sins those who were declared as Ustasha and he condemned severely their crimes.

^{xiii}D. Miletić, *Stradanja u Mostaru*, 117.

declined, but it was still far from being gone. After Italian reoccupation, the third phase of ethnic cleansing was finished (arrests, killing, transportation of civilians). This state remains until Italian capitulation in 1943, after which Ustasha policy begins again. Even though Italians had taken the edge off to Ustasha in the town, the violence was continued. Because of the presence of Italian forces, Ustasha Supervisory Service (UNS- Ustaška nadzorna služba) did their job in difficult conditions, so it had to transport its intelligence agents to Mostar. In April 1942, Antić, an alleged engineer, whose real name was Gvido Robnik came to Mostar.^{xiv} Ustasha violence was continued in educational institutions, as well. Ustasha youth who were recruited from school, in this case from Gymnasium, were going around other students' houses to check whether the latter have joined Partisans. On the XIII teaching staff assembly professor Alojzije Benac opposed this.^{xv} But he failed to change anything, because the principal, Josip Babić, who was a renowned Ustasha, ruled him out of order.

The savagery might also be shown in the fact that they conducted "formal burning of anti-government books" at Musala which was also organized by Ustasha Youth. At the time, Mostar was the stage of intelligence services and organizations conflicts. Besides the above mentioned UNS, Italian, German and NOP intelligence were also operating in the town. Italian intelligence was in a favorable position because of its military authorities. That was an advantage for them and they used it considerably. Since monitoring the NOP activists had first priority, besides the information that NDH and Chetnik movement passed to them, they were gathering information in person.

Germans, however, were in an inferior position to their coalitionist partners, and in lack of trained native personnel, they had to employ workers who were "formerly educated for intelligence".^{xvi} Kingdom of Yugoslavia^{xvii} (VKJ) had a specific intelligence who collected information from the field through certain Franciscans.

The Franciscans were led by Dominik Mandić, who took advantage of his position and formerly gained acquaintanceships in Mostar, yet with the help of other priests he had free use of information from Mostar that he passed to VKJ. The newly formed NOP intelligence didn't remained inactive. NOP intelligence infiltrates Salem Delalić and Hana Kolukčija into Ustasha Youth." Due to issued directive, Mubera Čemalović had been employed as an office worker in the District Police in Mostar."^{xviii}

^{xiv}D. Miletić, *Italijanska reokupacija Mostara*, 126.

^{xv}Later he became a recognized historian

^{xvi} D. Miletić, *Italijanska reokupacija Mostara*, 127.

^{xvii} The Kingdom of Yugoslavia

^{xviii} D. Miletić, *Italijanska reokupacija Mostara*, 129.

All of the mentioned contributed to NOP largely. However, it should be noted that many of them were exposed while helping NOP. They were killed immediately or sent to prison where they were tortured and killed afterwards. The fact about the arrests and killing in 1943 and 1944 prove that Ustasha authorities were still trying to enforce and strengthen its power. The arrested had been taken to District office where they were tortured and even killed. Some of them were killed on their way to prison. That was case with Salko Šestić. In order to form a clear picture of how Mostar functioned I will point out two cases.^{xix}

- Chetniks were operating freely in the left part of the town, and Ustasha in the right part
- It was usual for "coalescent partners" to come into conflict and certain number dies on each side

This situation remains until the end of 1944 when Partisan units approach the town. In the Battle of Neretva parts of NOVJ gush out to Mostar approach. Towards the end of 1944, conditions for liberation of Mostar would be met.

Final actions

By the end of 1941 and beginning 1945 Germans were delivering attacks on several occasions, in order to improve their position in the south from Mostar and to make easier the withdrawal of Army Group E. Due to importance of evading Army Group E Germans held their army force in Mostar district, Široki Brijeg, Nevesinje and other surrounding footings. The 369th *Legionnaire* (the 369th Infantry Division) and Ustasha Home Guard Division, local militia force, Ustasha Black Legion and Fascist 49th Battalion of *Blackshirts* "San Marko" were preparing a fallback position retreating from NVOJ's constant assaults, that were led by 29th Division, that was constantly holding lower valley of Neretva and which was bringing major enemy's forces down on itself. Besides, defense of Mostar was organized by "establishing major number of resistance points positioned in two belts."^{xx}

Mostar, along Nevesinje and Široki Brijeg were unique defense sites for enemy armada, where from Sarajevo and communication network in Bosna river valley were to be protected, and through which the main body of German Army Group E was retreating from Serbia and Montenegro. After the Supreme command of NOVJ had found out that German-Ustasha forces delivered an attack on Ljubuški, Čapljina and Metković on January 27 and 28 it commanded the headquarters of 8th Dalmatian Corps

^{xix} D. Miletić, *Italijanska reokupacija Mostara*, 134-137.

^{xx} Drago Đukanović, *Hercegovina u NOB-Mostarska operacija*, Beograd, 1961, 826.

to urgently transfer its main body from North and Middle Dalmatia to Mostar district, break up German Ustasha group and to liberate Mostar. After finding about the NOVJ movement, the enemy pulled down bridges over Neretva in Čapljina and Metković, and after that, they retreated from Metković towards Čapljina and prepared to defend Čapljina. In fierce battle which lasted till February 3, Čapljina was liberated and at the same time, National Liberation Battalion at the same time liberates Čapljina. "Meanwhile, Supreme Headquarters had commanded the 8th Corps to regroup their units to liberate Mostar and the remaining part of Herzegovina."^{xxi} In order to make this operation successful, from January 3 some of the units were redeployed from Dalmatia to west Herzegovina. This urgent transfer of nine units with its material and technical resources in these circumstances was a real accomplishment and it was unique emprise in National Liberation War. On February 4, the 9th, 19th, 26th and 29th Division Units and Tank and Artillery Brigades moved into assault position. The 1st and 2nd NVOJ Squadrons gave support by air strikes from Vis airport. Area of Široki Brijeg represented the enemy's strongest outpost and it was the key to liberation of Mostar. The main Ustasha-German force were situated there, they were counting about 6,000 soldiers with one Artillery unit. NVOJ units started the attack on Široki Brijeg on February 6. In the first frontal attack, the strongly reinforced enemy resistance line couldn't be broken through, because in Široki Brijeg and surrounding sites and Ljubuški, there was a great number of enemy's men power. By throwing a pincer movement NOVJ units gush out to Knešpolje district and they cut off the enemy's line of retreat towards Mostar. As soon as Germans found out their army in Široki Brijeg was encircled they sent one battalion from Mostar, over Jastrebinika to Široki Brijeg. This battalion took advantage of the 2nd Brigade's moment of inattention, got through to Knešpolje and joined units in Široki Brijeg. The next day the 8th Corps with new tank and infantry units threw another assault and forced the enemy to withdrawal towards the most reinforced sites that they still kept under their control.

"The enemy reinforced the most Cigansko and Čuvarevo Hill, tobacco-station, peak grounds and levels with monastery and a high school building".^{xxii} Constant attacks of the 8th Corps drew the enemy down to the area around monastery and church which dominated the surroundings in Široki Brijeg. With the backup of artillery and one tank battalion, the 11th Brigade and 26th Division managed to break through the monastery on February 7, while the 1st Brigade seized tobacco station. "After taking over Široki Brijeg and break through to Miljkovići as well as the pressure of 29th Division towards Konjic and communication network Konjic-Mostar conditions for liberation of Mostar

^{xxi} D. Đukanović, *Hercegovina u NOB-Mostarska operacija*, 828.

^{xxii} Nikola Anić, *Vojnoizdavački zavod, za pobjedu i slobodu – Mostarska operacija*, Beograd, 1986, 229.

had been accomplished."^{xxiii} The utmost difficulties had the 29th Division which carried a large area of accountability from Buna to Nevesinje and all the way to Konjic, and which had to liberate Nevesinje with strong German, Ustasha, and Chetnik forces. Due to bad weather conditions as well as the prior failed attempts to crush enemy's resistance, the operation was put "on hold" until February 13. "On the morning February 13 fog lifted along the whole front line of division, the sun rose up and the planned attack could start."^{xxiv}

The 29th Division was divided into two parts. The 11th and 14th Brigade launched operations towards Konjic and Bijelo Polje, and the "10th Brigade and the 1st Battalion of 12th Brigade, Artillery Division and parts of Tank Battalion and artillery attached from 2nd Corps delivered attack on Nevesinje, which was at the time defended by two battalions of the 369th Legionnaire Division, two batteries of the 369th Artillery Regiment one host of Italians and some militia force."^{xxv}

After a severe street fight, Nevesinje was liberated on February 14. The enemy retreated to Bišina, but it was ambushed by the 13th Brigade and they suffered heavy loss of life and material resources. The day before, NVOJ liberated Buna and Blagaj forcing the enemy into retreat towards the final position, Mostar. After these breakthroughs of NOVJ the route to Mostar was widely opened. The 8th Corps units started their main attack on Mostar in the morning on February 13 by strong airforce attack. In the evening February 13, units of the 8th Corps broke through west and south approaches to the town. In Mostar illegal front fighting units and squads already existed, which were protecting bridges and other important buildings from annihilation. In the enemy lines there were also illegals who passed by reliable information about movement of the enemy's units, that is about all the things that were operational for NOVJ. In the morning February 14 the last assault for liberation of Mostar started. The main body of the 26th Division backed up with tanks made a fast breakthrough to Mostar. In that attack, tanks made a real accomplishment breaking through strongly reinforced enemy's buildings bringing confusion into enemy's lines. As the enemy had ruined a road near Žovnica and put it under constant tank firing, tanks got down a steep area to Ilići and joined the infantry. Afterwards they made a breakthrough to west part of Mostar. Around noon, the 26th Division and tanks, the 19th Division, and shortly after the 13th Brigade of the 29th Division were situated in Mostar. In a fast and fierce attack and with the help of local residents, the west of Mostar was liberated. Around 3 o' clock, units of the 8th Corps had broken through to

^{xxiii} D. Đukanović, *Hercegovina u NOB – Mostarska operacija*, 831.

^{xxiv} N. Anić, *Vojnoizdavački zavod, za pobjedu i slobodu – Mostarska operacija*, 233.

^{xxv} D. Đukanović, *Hercegovina u NOB – Mostarska operacija*, 832.

the left part of the town and put all the bridges under heavy fire. At 5 o'clock, tanks and infantry threw another fierce attack and they entered the east part. The enemy couldn't blow down the bridges because, in the meantime, the illegals had cut up the mining wires. The enemy's resistance in the east part was also broken through soon. Mostar was liberated on February 14th and the enemy forces were pushed towards Drežnica, Jablanica and Konjic. In the battles around Mostar enemy suffered heavy losses which couldn't be compensated. After this operation, its 369 Legionnaire Division and the 9th Ustasha Home Guard Division had only one regiment until the end of the war. In these battles, a huge amount of weapons, equipment and cars was seized. On March 3, Konjic was liberated and the next day the 29th Division broke through to Ivan Sedlo which closed final battles in the operation for the liberation of Mostar.

War damages in Mostar area

During World War II Mostar and surrounding areas suffered heavy loss of lives, as well as assets and material resources. It is hard to talk with certainty of the exact number of war fatalities, exiled or about destroyed material resources, housing facilities, because there are no figures available. However, we have some partial information of war fatalities. By the War Damage Commission in Bosnia and Herzegovina accounts number of killed and missing in prisoner of war camps in Bosnia and Herzegovina was 174, 084.^{xxvi} In World War II Bosnia and Herzegovina was under Italian occupation in the area of NDH and also headquarters of several Ustasha, Italian, and German divisions and Home Guard Regiments. So large troop concentration, as well as genocidal policy of NDH by Ustasha who made great efforts towards ethnic cleansing of Bosnia and Herzegovina which fell to them by Vienna Conference^{xxvii} and Roman Agreement.^{xxviii} Ustasha activities in that field was tripled. The Serb element which in their opinion was enemy number one, was to be killed, exiled, or Christianized. They did all this ruthlessly and pitilessly, not looking at a gender or age. Fatality of this kind of a policy noticed German commissioner in Zagreb, Glaise von Horstenau. He considered the NDH a multinational state in which the Croat Nation hardly formed one

^{xxvi} *Informacioni priručnik o Bosni i Hercegovini*, 1951, 219. This issue only refers to the mentioned categories, without those who died in NOB or in enemy's formations. However, taking into account territory of Yugoslavia its losses were 34% or 1/3 of human loss out of all 18 countries that took part in Inter- Allied Reparation Committee in Brussels, which put Yugoslavia in the third place after SSSR and Poland.

^{xxvii} Vienna Council of Foreign Ministers of Raich and Italy were considering that border of NDH should be the eastern border of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

^{xxviii} Roman Agreement recognized eastern border of Bosnia and Herzegovina as eastern border of NDH, thus Italy included Bosnia and Herzegovina into NDH.

half of the population size and that the way they were treating non Croat residents wasn't right, and that was one of the main motives for Serb uprising throughout the country. The number of killed and missing persons in Mostar is adduced in Manual of Information which carries a review of figures related to Mostar and its surroundings which show that there was 1279 killed and missing people, out of which 1,160 male and 119 female.

Number of fatalities in Mostar district

In the Mostar district there were 518 killed out of which 449 male and 69 female persons.^{xxix} These figures show that the insurgent areas were the most hit and the victims were mostly villagers and by doing this, the enemy tried to suppress NOB (National Liberating War).

“The first population census after World War II was carried out in 1948.”^{xxx} According to this census, Mostar had 21,606 residents. On the basis of number of killed in mass or individual killings, we get statistical figures that during World War II in Mostar 9% of its residents lost their lives. In WWII, many housing and economic facilities were destroyed in the allies bombing raids at the end of the war. In order to present how many of the facilities were destroyed I'll first outline the figures on how many of them have been built until 1945. As the Magazine Dom^{xxxi} states on the occasion of the 5th anniversary until the 1945 the number of built facilities was 5,699 in public property and 4, 344 private facilities. Until 1945, Mostar had 10,043 housing facilities. By the end of war, there were 210 completely destroyed and 1,780^{xxxii} damaged facilities. In the town there were 204 completely destroyed and 1,777 damaged facilities, and in rural area 3 facilities. Analyzing these facts we learn that during wartime 3% of housing facilities was destroyed and 21% damaged. In the Mostar area as in Bosnia and Herzegovina by destroying and demolition of mining facilities, filling them up and flooding the pits as by the uneconomical exploitation were inflicting damage to the coal mine in Mostar. The authorities of the time concluded that the enemy inflicted damage to Mostar coal mine to the amount of 224,381, 020^{xxxiii} dinars, which at the time represented huge funds. During the war, the industrial facilities in all of Bosnia and Herzegovina as in Mostar were completely destroyed or severely damaged. The enemy

^{xxix} *Informacioni priručnik o Bosni i Hercegovini*, 220. These data still represent killed in mass and separate executions, as well as killed and missing persons in prisoner-of-war camps.

^{xxx} *Koncepcija dugoročnog razvoja Mostara do 2000*. Godine, Mostar, 1986. 14.

^{xxxi} *Dom – Preduzeća za gazdovanje stambenim zgradama u Mostaru*, Beograd, 21.

^{xxxii} *Informacioni priručnik o Bosni i Hercegovini*, 221.

^{xxxiii} *Ibid.* 222.

took whole facilities and installed them where he needed them. Some of the facilities ended up in enemies' countries. The facilities in Mostar were destroyed and damages counted up to tens of thousands dinars. Among the damaged facilities in Mostar were soda factory and textile mill. The enemy inflicted huge damages to agriculture (destroying fruit and vegetable fields); forestry, and inconsiderate cutting road communications. All this leads to a conclusion that the devastation was enormous, as for men loss as for all the other aspects, and it took a lot of time, patience and money to surmount these difficulties.

Mostar in the period of reconstruction of the country 1945-1947

Social circumstances of people

Even during the National Liberation War (NOB- Narodnooslobodilačke borbe), authorities issued a decree of putting all social facilities under national roof. Namely, National Committee of Yugoslavia Liberation (NKOJ-Nacionalni komitet oslobođenja Jugoslavije) by "January 30th 1945"^{xxxiv} decision ordered total social insurance. The Department of Social Policy in Mostar had activities along a board front. This was because Mostar suffered severe life loss as well as material-technical resources. Many people had literally lost everything, many people were killed and huge number suffered all kinds of torture. The authorities were doing all they could to improve matters and undo the harm through their social departments. Social Department supplied Children's Home with monthly groceries like flour, beans, pasta etc^{xxxv} for June. The children's home was also home for children that weren't from Mostar. This is supported by the fact that one girl was brought from Lika; at first she was put to General Hospital and to Children's Home afterwards.^{xxxvi} This department departed expenses of orphans and poor children in school canteen. Also, it bears expenses for Ljubo Krešelj who, due to his traveling on business from Mostar to Nevesinje had a claim upon a free bus ride, and Mustafa Karabeg who also travelled on business from Mostar to Trebinje and claimed a free train ride.^{xxxvii}

The Social Department of Mostar also sent an official letter ordering for Anđa Škegro," in her capacity of the superintendent of Mostar unemployment office, to issue

^{xxxiv} *Informativni priručnik o Bosni i Hercegovini*, 222.

^{xxxv} Arhiv Hercegovacko – neretvanskog kantona u Mostaru, fond *Oblasni narodni odbor Mostar*, dok. br. 340/45. 1-2.

^{xxxvi} The girl only knew that her name was Stanka, her mum was Ljubica and she claimed that her dad's name was Milan, and by that she was known as Milanović in the children's home. At the time the girl was seven and she was situated in the family of Milan Milićević, a trader from Mostar.

^{xxxvii} AHNK, *fond ONOM*, dok. br. 503/45.

a booklet for regular grocery supplies.”^{xxxviii} The conditions that people lived in is likely best displayed by the fact that Bojana Šipovac and Mira Semiz applied at a Social department to receive a pair of socks and a dress each; a similar request came from Džemal Demirović, who asked for a pair of socks and a pair of shoes. ^{xxxix} The violence on civilian residents displays the fact that German occupying troops “beat up” Hamo Nikšić badly, from whose beating "He becomes seriously ill and on advice of a doctor he needed to go to the spa and take special therapy.”^{xl} This department accommodated his request and assigned him economic aid of 1,000 dinars, which his father, who took care of him, took over from the department. The Herzegovina District People's Committee requested a report on activities of the department in Mostar. The report was sent to authorities, and it consisted of a report on social conditions and a report on housing facilities.^{xli} The manager of the Old People's Home in Mostar applied several times to the District National Committee in Mostar to approve the credit funds (in the amount of 40,000) for maintenance of the home and the purchase of a cooker. The second time, she was granted 30,000 for the old people's home, which she used for maintenance and purchasing the inventory.^{xlii} In the following period of time, this department dealt with the return of children from Slovenia, and only the children who still had both parents.^{xliii} During this period, the Department had put all their efforts towards making it possible to overcome the post-war period and to enable the civilian residents to find their way to integrate into a new life.

Agricultural reconstruction

Agriculture

Mostar and all of Herzegovina had a specific role in agriculture. Due to a lack of fertile soil, this part of the country had been characterized as passive and foredoomed to an even bigger decay and dependence on the other parts of the country. It took a long time after the war for Mostar and surrounding areas to move towards the right trend. The increase of scope of the agricultural manufacturing, as well as quality of the agricultural products, was main goals targeted by Agriculture Department of District People's Board in Herzegovina (HONO- Oblasni narodni odbor za Hercegovinu). However, lack

^{xxxviii} AHNK, *fond ONOM*, dok. br. 570/45.

^{xxxix} AHNK, *fond ONOM*, dok. br. 512/45; 592/45.

^{xl} AHNK, *fond ONOM*, dok. br. 594/45.

^{xli} Arhiv Hercegovacko – neretvanskog kantona u Mostaru, *fond Oblasni narodni odbor Mostar*, dok. br. 2799/45, 1-2.

^{xlii} AHNK, *fond ONOM*, dok. br. 397/45. 1-5.

^{xliii} Arhiv Hercegovacko – neretvanskog kantona u Mostaru, *fond Hercegovacki sreski narodni odbor*, dok. br. 1430/46, 1-2.

of specialists, agricultural tools, and harness horses resulted in bad spring sawing in 1945, in Mostar and in the entire country.^{xliv} Regarding the resurgence in agricultural production in Mostar area, soil conservation works were carried out on bigger fields and system of irrigation ditches were built. These activities weren't created for just Mostar specifically, but rather they were intended to be an example from the new authorities to provide bigger incomes in the country as a whole. Current authorities were trying to increase agricultural trade incomes, but residents of Herzegovina, in lack of basic provisions, for seasonal work went to Vojvodina. They were paid one third in money, and the rest of their salary was paid in "kind" (by receiving food, water, etc.). The conditions would change later, and "on the existing 30% in kind, additional 300 kg of corn for each member of a worker's family would be added."^{xlv} Conditions related to temporary jobs weren't great because the canteen meals were bad, and due to the lack of accommodation, a great number of workers had to sleep in dilapidated houses, in barns and even in hog houses. Although the conditions were almost impossible to live in, at least people managed to partly reduce the constant lack of the basic provisions. Youth gardens also reduced lack of basic provisions. Those were farm-lands that were cultivated by young people, and they were founded on the fields that didn't need any big investments. Mostar had one youth garden of 5,000 m².

Cattle raising

Cattle raising is a traditional industrial branch for all of Herzegovina, and of the Mostar area, as well.^{xlvi} The country's livestock was almost completely destroyed, which also shows a lot about the intensity of war activities in the Mostar and Herzegovina area.^{xlvii} Because of that, the postwar authorities paid special attention to the revitalization of the livestock. Those activities were led by two departments: the Livestock Department and Veterinary section of Agricultural Department with HONO. Due to the lack of the cattle in Bosnia and Herzegovina, cattle from other countries were bought and sent to Bosnia and Herzegovina. An official letter of Ministry of Agriculture of People's government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, addressed to District People's Board of Herzegovina, says^{xlviii}: "In the Vranje district, 6,000 sheep and 6,000 lambs were purchased. In this purchase, 1,500 sheep and 1,500 lambs were set aside for Konjic and Mostar districts...". After the cattle had been transported by train to Višegrad,

^{xliv} Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, *fond Ministarstvo poljoprivrede i stočarstva*, k-12, dok. br. 3041/45.

^{xlv} Adnan Velagić, *Hercegovina od 1945. do 1952. godine*, Mostar, 2008, 123.

^{xlvi} A. Velagić, *Hercegovina od 1945. do 1952. godine*, Mostar, 2008, 125.

^{xlvii} Mustafa Imamović, *Historija Bošnjaka*, Sarajevo, 1997, 550.

^{xlviii} ABiH, *fond MPIS*, k-2, dok. br. 11/45.

shepherds brought cattle to Podveležje, near Mostar. The cattle were soon sent to the districts. Because of the danger from the remains of paramilitary units and robbers, transportation of the cattle through Bosnia and Herzegovina was secured by national militia and army. The first shipment of sheep from Serbia was distributed to the districts. The Mostar district got 280 sheep, and the second shipment of 436 sheep was delivered to District People's Board in Mostar. The third, fourth and fifth shipments went to places other than Mostar, likely due to the fact that other districts were in more difficult conditions related to the revitalization of livestock. It wasn't until the 6th shipment that livestock would again be transported to Mostar.^{xlix} This shipment was delivered on September 1, 1945. By 1946, livestock renewal in the Mostar area was noticeably bigger and it became more ambitious. Bigger funds were set aside for buying off the cattle. With these funds 34,000 sheep, 670 cows, and 350 horses were to be bought off. However, due to lack of funds in Mostar area, the buying of cattle was reduced, so until September, 12,000 sheep, 640 lambs and 6 goats were bought off.ⁱ Besides the buying of livestock, livestock was also renewed through UNRA (The Administration of United Nation for Help and Reconstruction). So, in 1946 another shipment of 2,787 horses arrived to Bosnia and Herzegovina (150 horses for ONO Mostar), 650 donkeys (100 for ONO Mostar), and 1,420 cows (108 for ONO Mostar).ⁱⁱ Besides problems with transportation of the livestock, there were also some other problems. There were cases of animals dying of numerous diseases, exhaustion, as well as the shepherds' negligence (like bad conditions for the livestock). There were cases where shepherds couldn't buy food in the villages they travelled through. Also, distribution of the cattle wasn't done justly, as the biggest portion of cattle ended up in the areas that had already received new livestockⁱⁱⁱ, and there were cases of the same person getting cattle more than once.

Renewal of industry and trades

Industry

Along with the process of confiscation and nationalization, the current authorities put great efforts into the renovation of companies and the restoration of production. These activities in the Mostar area were led by the Department for Industry and trades with District People's Board. This department designated its first activities to putting the factories which production could be started with minimum investments, and whose

^{xlix} A. Velagić, *Hercegovina od 1945. do 1952. godine*, 126.

ⁱ Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, *fond Kontrolna komisija*, dok. br. 81/46, 2-3.

ⁱⁱ AHNK, *fond HONO*, dok. br. 8072/46. 1-2.

ⁱⁱⁱ A. Velagić, *Hercegovina od 1945. do 1952. godine*, 127.

products could be used in the process of total social reconstruction, in working order. So in June 1945, after putting the Factory of roofing-tile in working order, Ribica from Mostar (in the former property of Mehmed Ribica^{liii}) started. Due to great demand for rebuilding houses, the Department managed to put another tiles factory in order, which belonged to Ivan Buconjić.^{liv} The textile industry was poorly developed in Mostar and in the rest of the country. After the liberation, the Textile Factory Vitković was put into production. This factory had huge financial problems which were more than several millions of prewar dinars. Still, in spite of these difficulties in the beginning of production, it provided poor people in the area of HONO with cloth in the amount of 31,660,70 m.^{lv} The tobacco industry developed fast as the tobacco factory and tobacco station were completely preserved. The main disadvantage for restoring the production was lack of skilled personnel. In the domain of the chemical industry, the Soap and Crystalline Water Factory started production of poor quality soap. After the purchase of olive oil ingredients, its quality improved significantly. One of the main resources in Mostar was definitely coal mines. Although it had started production in 1918 and changed several owners, this mine restored its production after the war as State Coal Mine in Mostar. Until the end of 1945, 4,375,000 was invested in its reconstruction.^{lvi} During the production period, it realized significant results in the manufacture and sale of coal and lignite. Thanks to its quality, this coal found its consumers, mainly industrial, throughout Yugoslavia. Despite numerous problems (lack of electricity, lack of workforce, frequent break down of machines) it managed to achieve the biggest production in 1948.

Manual trades

During the World War II period, Mostar lost many handicraftsmen. Some of them died in NOR (National Liberation War), some changed their occupation, and others were still in service of the Yugoslavia Army. This motivated the current authorities to work on the revitalization of handicrafts through a rising new generation, establishing new handicrafts shops in the centers of districts. First handicrafts shops were established in Mostar.^{lvii} For the purpose of renewal and development of handicrafts branch, the association of handicraftsmen was formed in Mostar. The main goal of the association was to represent the handicrafts in front of authorities' institutions, stimulate the

^{liii} AHNK, *fond HONO*, dok. br. 757/56.

^{liv} AHNK, *fond HONO*, dok. br. 757/56.

^{lv} A. Velagić, *Hercegovina od 1945. do 1952. godine*, 143.

^{lvi} Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovina, *fond Ministarstvo industrije i rada*, dok. br. 1/7.

^{lvii} AHNK, *fond HONO*, dok. br. I-757/45.

development of handicrafts and to coordinate its work. The handicrafts sector in Mostar was rather diverse. The shutting down of many workshops was caused by the difficult material situation in postwar Mostar and the youths' lack of interest in handicrafts. For the purpose of improving the general situation in the handicrafts sector, the current authorities were emphasizing forming handicrafts cooperatives. These cooperatives were established for the purpose of monitoring certain handicraftsmen. They took care of supplying them with needed materials. After the war ended, a male trade school was established in Mostar, which, in the 1945/1946 school year, had 42 pupils.^{lviii} Besides the male vocational school, the female trades school was also established which was attended by 218 students. Before opening a workshop, all the graduates of these schools had to pass the state exam in front of the commission of the District People's Board. The exceptions were people who attained their craftsmanship in the Yugoslavia Army and those who were included into manual trades after the army service.

Circumstances of refugees

The refugees who escaped, were exiled or, in some other way, left their homes during World War II, found their shelter in Mostar. Thus, refugees from Gacko, Nevesinje and Duvno settled in Mostar. Some refugees from other districts, like Imotski, also settled in Mostar. They all tried to find accommodation and settle in Mostar until better times came. It should be noted that, besides all those refugees who came to Mostar to escape the war, some Mostar residents also took refuge in other districts or even in other republics of the mutual homeland. It's difficult to know the exact number of refugees. It should also be noted that a great number of the population was moved from their homes. According to official data, "right after the war there was about 100,000 mainly rural refugee families in Bosnia and Herzegovina."^{lix} The organized return of refugees started immediately after the war had ended and the new authorities had been established in certain areas.^{lx} There was a small number of refugees who returned independently and in an unorganized way. "In August 1945, 5,000 refugees returned to Herzegovina. A small number of them returned to their villages and started cultivating soil, but great number of them stayed in Mostar and other areas."^{lxi} The issue of the return of refugees was actualized in spring 1946. The current authorities elaborated a

^{lviii} Husnija Kamberović, *Prema modernom društvu – Bosna i Hercegovina od 1945 do 1953. godine*, Tešanj, 2000, 149.

^{lix} H. Kamberović, *Prema modernom društvu*, 62.

^{lx} AHNO, *fond ONOM*, dok. br. 1635/46.

^{lxi} *Borba*. 30.3. 1946. godine, 3.

plan for return of the refugees. This plan was made in the beginning of 1946 by District People's Board in Banja Luka. According to the plan, priority for the return to the prewar estates and homes were farming families, and all refugees were divided into several groups. It also should be mentioned that the route of the refugee movement from certain districts of Banja Luka County was elaborated by this plan. Refugees from Herzegovina who found their shelter in Bosanska Krajina were moved from Banjaluka to Derventa via trucks, and then from Sarajevo to Mostar by trains. In the process of the refugees' return their accommodation and safety was an important priority.

Reconstruction results in Mostar

After the war ended, reconstruction of the objects that could be reconstructed began. By that I mean reconstruction of the objects and infrastructure that didn't necessitate bigger investments, that is objects that were less damaged, started. At this time current authorities were pushed by the issue of refugees and social circumstances of the residents. As for the reconstruction that involved big investments and longer time period, attention came to that later. Under this, we primarily mean the revitalization of agricultural reserves (cultivation of soil and livestock) and renewal of industry and handicrafts. As for the issue of the agricultural sector, circumstances have changed since the end of the war. Although agricultural sector had some deficiencies in quality of cultivable land, some steps forward had taken place. In other words, the increase of the land profit was still not the proportion of what current authorities were expecting. This was due to constant lack of specialists, cultivation tools, and harness cattle. Livestock was almost completely destroyed during the wartime. In terms of improvement of the livestock branch, the current authorities imported cattle from other republics, and, in that way, renewed the livestock branch. A great number of residents got the cattle, but there were cases of criminal acts done by certain individuals. They distributed cattle to the areas which already had renewed their prewar livestock, and more than once to the same people. The state of refugees and social circumstances was an urgent problem for the authorities. The refugees wanted to return to their homes as soon as it was possible, to start making acceptable living conditions and sowing. These refugees' actions were approved and stimulated by the authorities, due to necessity of renewal of the farming production. Besides this, bad economic situation of the refugees also influenced the hastened return of the refugees to their prewar homes. Although the situation wasn't encouraging, the current authorities were giving their best to undo the harm in the field.

Mostar in a period of The First Five-Year Plan (1947 to 1952)

Aspects of the Five-Year Plan

Right after the war had ended along with the liberation of the country, current authorities decided to approach revitalization of economic resources and reconstruction of the infrastructure. The agrarian sector was also in an unenviable position because during the wartime period it suffered huge damages. In terms of ideology and the doctrine of the communist movement, economic development accelerated with emphasis on industry as one of the main objectives. Winning the political power itself was the means for creating the welfare society. Industrialization was considered as an important condition for sustaining the political power. "In those terms the new system faced a difficult challenge because it inherited a very underdeveloped agrarian structure, that was also destroyed during war."^{lxii} Although the estimates of the war damages of Yugoslavia are rough and unreliable it's guaranteed that Bosnia and Herzegovina, and then Croatia and Montenegro, had suffered the biggest devastation where the war operations took place. In order to improve circumstances in the field, the current authorities planned the concept of industrialization of the country. In this plan, the party copied Soviet model as in everything else. This meant that in the future economy structure all known branches of industry had to be found. The goals for economy growth were drawn up as follows:

- to liquidate economy and technical underdevelopment
- to reinforce defense forces of the country
- to strengthen national socialist economy sector and socialist relations
- to raise common welfare of people

The intention of plan makers was "to increase industry production five times, agriculture 1.5 times, social product for 1.8 times, national product and national income 1.8 times, in a five year period."^{lxiii} To implement all this they needed a huge workforce. Telling the story of the upcoming welfare, Communists Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ-Komunistička partija Jugoslavije) won over people to voluntarily go to work actions, which played a big role in the economic development of the country. Construction of the country in such an extensive manner demanded a huge workforce. Prisoners and prisoners of war were also included in those actions. The propaganda of the current authorities persuaded people that they would soon catch up and even leave behind the some of the most developed countries. That propaganda was convincing, because in the following period of time, national income of the country increased. In 1939 national

^{lxii} Dušan Bilandžić, *Hrvatska moderna povijest*, Zagreb, 1999, 223.

^{lxiii} D. Bilandžić, 225.

income of the country was 264.2 billion dinars, and in 1947 it increased to 319.6 billion, and in 1948 the national income was 441.1 billion dinars. One of the first men of the state, Edvard Kardelj, talked about the admiration for what they did. "In five years we'll be as strong as or even stronger than Austria and Czechoslovakia in many branches of industry, so we will be able to build light industry by ourselves."^{lxiv} Grounds for this achievement should be looked for not only in administrative-centralist system, but before all in the revolutionary disposition of a great number of people. In the first postwar years a big revolutionary process, which was changing social relations, took place. This process was seen by many as an outlook for realization of their interests and that was the main source and motivation of creative capacity. The consciousness of a better tomorrow became mental and material force for all ranks of society. A huge part of the population was caught up in an euphoric state, believing that by 2-3 five-year plans Yugoslavia would leave behind some of the richest countries.

Difficulties in implementation of the Five Year plan in Mostar area

Following the Soviet Union example, the authorities opted for a surmounting crisis program. This program for surmounting crisis consisted of several five year plans. The entire area of Herzegovina entered the first plan as an extremely poor area. Some problems appeared in the process of return and resettlement, infrastructure reconstruction and targeted goals. In accordance with a communist doctrine of the state's domination over economy subjects, in the beginning of 1947, state corporate companies in the area of Mostar district people's board were organized. According to that plan, the state would take control over the following companies:^{lxv} As a part of Mostar District People's Board (MONO- Mostarski okružni narodni odbor) it was planned to have as follows: two motor transport companies in Mostar and Livno, District hardware and firewood company in Mostar, District construction company "Herzegovina" Mostar. In Town People's Board (GNOM- Gradski narodni odbor Mostar) the establishment of six sales companies was planned, five independent municipal services, 4 independent industry and handicrafts companies. "Thus the way towards realization of socialist orientation of economy development, in which only the state was planned to create economy ambiance and to organize economic actions."^{lxvi} Although the authorities set the right goals, they were difficult to achieve.

Market incomes in the Mostar area and Herzegovina in general were way below

^{lxiv} D. Bilandžić, 225.

^{lxv} AHNK, *fond HONO*, dok. br. 2258/47. 1-5.

^{lxvi} A. Velagić, *Hercegovina od 1945. do 1952. godine*, 162.

what was expected. There were many reasons for this shortfall. As the most important ones were not proportionate between the desire for economic rise and objective power and resources for its accomplishment, and all this again talks of the strength of economic power and the current authorities' ambitions. Voluntary local tax, which residents paid in money or building material for facilities construction, due to numerous political and other reasons, was often redirected to some other places with higher priority. Thus without accordance with the plan, a union building and housing facilities Luka II were built with total cost of over 1,496,000 dinars^{lxvii}, which represented huge funds.

The development of industry

The main objective of the First Five-Year Plan was the transformation of predominantly agricultural regions in industry as well as the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina. For the development of this part of the homeland, there were good natural predispositions. According to geological studies in the area of the immediate and wider environment of Mostar, there were significant amounts of mineral resources. Also, in the vicinity of Mostar there were significant deposits of bauxite, etc. However, despite all these qualities that Mostar had in post-war reconstruction and development it was still facing a difficult situation that "it was difficult because of the lack of traffic communications."^{lxviii} Perhaps one of the biggest problems in the industrial development was the lack of work force. This was the main cause of failure to comply with the plan during 1948. So the Weaving mill Vitković production plan realized in the amount of 69.7%, the National Mine Mostar 53%, canned Factory Mostar 27%.^{lxix} In the coming period, the current government was trying to reorganize, with special emphasis on the expediency of personal authority, bringing educated staff to management positions, and to discipline workers, which in some places was very questionable. In fact, in some canteens workers were served alcohol. However, despite the above attempts to fix errors, the situation has not significantly changed. The electric company in Mostar faces theft of materials and poor quality services, the City firm "Transport" and mine "Gradinici" faces irrational use of transport.^{lxx} Current government was trying to solve shortages on the workforce with mobilization of the rural population in commercial

^{lxvii} A. Velagić, *Hercegovina od 1945. do 1952. godine*, 169.

^{lxviii} *Ibid*, 179.

^{lxix} ABiH, *fond MIR*, k-34, dok. br. 3/8.

^{lxx} ABiH, *fond KK*, dok. br. 3257/49. 1-3.

enterprises. In this way, it has dealt with two burning issues in the field of socialist orientation of economic development:

- caught up the shortage of workers in the industry;
- individual rural producer was economically destroyed (whom the government characterized as the rest of the capitalist social relations), which created a prerequisite for its faster integration into the cooperative system.

In order to accelerate this process there was a guarantee of supply being taken off all rural households that had two or more hectares of arable land.^{lxxi} The first example of mobilization of the rural population was in the industry by Management Bosnian bauxite workers in Mostar, where "about 90% of the staff consists of poor people from the rural area"^{lxxii}, which did their work very responsibly. In this time of conflict with the Soviet Union, the government was mobilizing the workforce in volunteer work brigades in order to mitigate the consequences caused by Tito's verbal confrontation with Stalin. These brigades had given a great contribution to the stabilization of the situation. The District People's Board (SNO-Sreski narodni odbor) Mostar workforce involvement plan was carried out with 80%, by mid-month, and was likely to be achieved by the end of the month, according to a report Control Commission regarding the workforce by districts. In addition to front brigades, stabilization of the situation contributed to the introduction of courses of practical work. The lack of manpower for the industry "purchaser" was so large that the students were introduced in the economic processes. Within the area of GNO Mostar alone included 228 students in economic processes.

All these efforts were not sufficient enough to find a permanent solution to labor shortages; this was particularly the case in the building trade. The forest was also a visible lack of labor force, and the main reason was cited, poor housing conditions and poor-paying job. In order to solve this burning problem, the government has resorted to the withdrawal from the administration of those people who before the war were masters (builders, masons, etc.) and their transfer to production. This would increase the productivity of companies that were in deficit of labor force. Notably, some workers left their work place from various reasons, and some also changed companies. In spite all these problems the economy subjects in Mostar area marked increase in manufacture.

^{lxxi} A. Velagić, *Hercegovina od 1945. do 1952. godine*, 183.

^{lxxii} *Ibid*, 183.

Agriculture development

Tillage

In an effort to implement plans for the increase of agricultural production in the area of Mostar, the authorities faced many problems. To protect themselves in any way, agricultural manufacturers reported their lessened product surplus, which they had to give for compulsory crop purchase system at low prices, while the others refused to participate in the farm-surplus appropriation system. Some of the agrarians planted other field crops besides the prearranged ones, trying to protect themselves, even at the cost of violations of prearranged commitment. According to data of Mostar District Commission for Planning, in 1947 a plan for autumn sowing wasn't realized at the planned rate. For the area of GNO of Mostar the results are shown in the table below. All measures are in hectare terms.^{lxxiii}

SNO	Wheat		Barley		Rye	
	planned	realized	planned	realized	planned	realized
Mostar	439	396	563	889	408	408
GNO Mostar	24	21	7	7	-	-
Total	463	417	570	896	408	408

Table No 1: Planned and realized sowing in ONOM 1947 in hectare terms

From table No 1 we can notice that only barley sowing in the the Mostar area gave good results, while the rest of the indicators of the targeted goals are negative, which can be seen in wheat sowing in GNO Mostar and in Mostar. Reasons for the failure of realization of the plan are different: overambitious targeting of the goals, lack of mechanized resources, as well as the cultivation tools. I might add low quality seeds, its irrational use, as well as the locust plague, which was registered during 1947, in the Mostar, Čapljina and Stolac areas. All these parameters had influenced rye production results in a lower rate than planned. The authorities were trying to fix the circumstances by purchasing adequate and higher quality seeds, in the next period. However all those efforts didn't make any bigger progress. The autumn sowing hadn't resulted better: ^{lxxiv}

^{lxxiii} AHNK, *fond ONOM*, dok. br. 6349/47.

^{lxxiv} Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, *fond Planska komisija*, k-74, dok. br. 665/49, 1-7.

SNO	Wheat		Barley		Rye	
	planned	realized	planned	realized	planned	realized
Mostar	500	382	1,500	1472	500	359
GNO Mostar	10	8	35	31	-	-
Total	510	390	1,535	1503	500	359

Table No 2: Planned and realized sowing in Mostar, 1948, in hectare terms

From table number 2 it can be noted that only barley sowing in the area Mostar had good results, while the rest of the indicators are in the rate of the targeted goals or in negative rate, which can especially be noted in wheat sowing in GNO Mostar as in Mostar. Why the crops had failed, the question poses itself. There were numerous reasons, but the main one was that the goals were targeted over ambitiously for postwar agriculture which was developing on a completely new basis.^{lxxv} Just like the wheat and rye sowing from 1946 to 1950, tobacco planting didn't achieve its targeted goals as well. The reason for this is it wasn't proportionate among the targeted production goal and material investments in the production.

Fruit growing

Mostar has great climate conditions for growing different kinds of fruit and vegetables. Just in Mostar alone, there was a vineyard "with the area of 2,150 hectares"^{lxxvi}, planted with various kinds of table and wine grapes. Different kinds of figs, cherries, peaches, sour cherries, apricots were also planted in Mostar and its surroundings. Although not the first in Herzegovina, Mostar residents produced about 980 tons of different kinds of a high quality fruit in 1950 (This can be seen in table number 3)

SNO	Apples	Pears	Plums	Apricots	Peaches	Cherries	Figs	Grapes	Sundries	Total
Mostar	25	15	15	180	15	550	30	100	50	980
Total	25	15	15	180	15	550	30	100	50	980

Table No 3: Fruit production in Mostar in 1950, in tons terms

^{lxxv} A. Velagić, *Hercegovina od 1945. do 1952. godine*, 215.

^{lxxvi} Ibid, 219.

Table number 3 shows that three fruit crops were dominant in the Mostar area, which were cherries, apricots, and grapes. For the purpose of production increase, nursery gardens were established in Mostar and Konjic areas, which increased production of seedlings and enabled orchard development in this area. A special problem in fruit growing was a pest named "žilogriz" (*Capnodis tenebrionis* - Peach Flatheaded Rootborer) and the authorities paid one dinar for each killed insect, in Mostar, 1952.

lxxvii

Cattle raising development

As anticipated in the Five Year Plan, the prewar state of cattle was expected to be caught up by 1951, cows in 30%, pigs for 68%, Sheep for 53% and poultry in 55%.^{lxxviii} Production of milk needed to be increased in 300 l by a cow, wool in 20% by a sheep, and to increase the quality of the livestock products in general.^{lxxix} In 1948, for the purpose of stopping the speculators in their shady deals, besides the several existing regulations, the authorities adopted regulations on purchase of the beef cattle, cattle products and cattle food. This regulation brought a commitment of compulsory delivery quotas of surplus in livestock for farmers.^{lxxx} Table four shows how the purchase looked like in SNO Mostar, 1949.

SNO	Cattle (%)	Wool (%)	Hay (%)	Straw (%)	Sno (%)
Mostar	104,40	104.50	120	-	109.63

Table 4: Purchase of the cattle, livestock products and cattle food in ONOM, 1949

Noticeably, the purchase was relatively high in the Mostar area. This table shows that purchases of the beef cattle, livestock products, and cattle food went above 100%. Bearing in mind the data about the deficiency of the livestock funds in Mostar area and in the entire country, the authorities were taking actions for increasing the livestock funds. The results were noticeable in 1952, which we can see in table 5 which refers to the Mostar area.

^{lxxvii} *Sloboda*, broj 6. godina VII, Mostar, 14. februar 1951.

^{lxxviii} *Zakon o Prvom petogodišnjem planu razvitka narodne privrede FNRJ u godinama 1947-1951*, 1947, 403.

^{lxxix} A. Velagić, *Hercegovina od 1945. do 1952. godine*, 220.

^{lxxx} ABiH, *fond KK*, dok. br. 671/48, 1-2.

County	Livestock sort			
	Horses	Cows	Sheep	Beehive
Mostar	3,642	14,139	81,008	4,567
City of Mostar	321	2,188	6,612	1,612

Table 5: Purchase of the cattle in ONOM, 1949

The submitted figures show that great number of residents of Mostar County was in the sheep-breeding industry. Besides the above mentioned livestock, 8,000 goats were also raised in the Mostar area and GNO Mostar 220.^{lxxxi} For the purpose of the improvement of bee-keeping, as an agricultural branch, the "Government of NR Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the suggestion of Minister of Agriculture, brought a regulation of improvement and protection of bee-keeping in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which bee-keeping in terms of organization fell under state control. There were over 37,000 beehives in Mostar County in 1952, which created an opportunity for Herzegovina honey to come out to the market throughout Yugoslavia.^{lxxxii}

Results of the Five Year Plan in Mostar, 1945-1952

The first Five Year Plan was meant to accelerate the economy growth of the country, emphasizing industrial development. In order to achieve the targeted goals, the authorities were promising to people that in five years they would leave behind some of the richest countries, referring specifically to Austria and Czechoslovakia. This propaganda resulted in massive amounts of people, who were still in an euphoric state, to begin the reconstruction of the country. One part of prisoners of war and prisoners joined these euphoric masses. Although the industrial development had positive results, there were still many problems to deal with. Lack of quality work force as well as work force in general being one of the greatest problems. In order to lessen this imbalance in supply and demand, the authorities brought new work force from rural areas and put them to industrial facilities. The main reason for failure in achieving of the targeted goals in this period was lack of skilled workforce, which would be stabilized later. In agriculture, similar to industry development, some problems also existed. Some of them were dependent on lack of cultivation soil, insufficient investments into production, and overambitious goals in agriculture, while the pest "žilogriz", that had destroyed entire orchards, dominated in fruit growing. Livestock

^{lxxxi} AHNK, *fond ONOM*, dok. br. 318/50.

^{lxxxii} A. Velagić, *Hercegovina od 1945. do 1952. godine*, 223.

stood on its feet in this period. For the purpose of stopping the speculators in their shady deals the authorities introduced some regulations. The regulation for purchasing livestock, livestock products and food brought a compulsory commitment for farmers to sell all their surplus, which some of the farmers would still try to avoid in different ways. In the end, we can say with certainty that results of Five Year plan hadn't reached the targeted rate, mostly due to overambitious goals.

Mostar as a regional center of Herzegovina

Since its establishment and up to today, Mostar has represented the regional center of Herzegovina. It has been the main educational and cultural center of Herzegovina for a long time. It has kept its topical quality and beauty as well as its central meaning for Herzegovina throughout a long period of time; since the Austro-Hungarian occupation, both kingdoms, Socialist Republics of Yugoslavia up to latter times. In its postwar period, it gets an even bigger importance and becomes the center of Herzegovina in its full meaning. In that time period, Mostar got many big factories and agro-industrial conglomerates, as well as big grape estates. An enormous number of people were employed in the Mostar economy. According to Bevanda, a former manager of ŽTO (Processing plant grain factory), until the aggression on the country, Mostar had 38,000 employed residents. Regardless of this number, which needs to be taken with a pinch, it is indisputable that Mostar became the biggest economic center of Herzegovina.

Conclusion

After the war had ended and damages had been estimated, reconstruction in the Mostar area began. The reconstruction faced many obstacles and problems. Current authorities tried to improve circumstances in the field by implementing agrarian reforms. These activities led to a process of collectivization and the forming of a united system. Those attempts went from the confiscation of the property of people who helped the enemy in any way and surrendering it to groups of people who had deserved it. The process of development in agriculture and livestock was average; due to unqualified leading personnel who often made mistakes, the annual plans often hadn't been reached. The authorities sent its personnel to training in order to solve the problem of unqualified personnel, and to improve their quality of work. Livestock also faced the problem of its irrational distribution. The circumstances in the industry hadn't been any different. Confiscation of all economy facilities was applied to individuals who did harm to their nation and country during the war. Facilities that produced various products had been

taken over and put into operation for the country. The authorities moved away from handicrafts because of the apprehension of the "capitalist element" as they have perceived it. However, due to Tito's attitude that people needed that branch of industries, it wasn't put out. In summary, the period from 1945 to 1952, inspite all the problems, was the time when Mostar and its surroundings developed a new enthusiasm for its

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